

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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USCINCEUR ECAP
USNMR SHAPE
SECSTATE WASHDC 466
USIA WASHDC
INFO USMISSION NATO

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 MADRID 4125

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SECSTATE FOR EUR/WE DURKEE

USIA FOR IOP/F

E.O.11652: N/A
SUBJECT: SPAIN AND NATO

1. SPANISH PRESS CONTINUES SHOWING INTEREST IN
THEME SPANISH RELATIONSHIP TO NATO. MAY 22 ARRIBA
(GOVERNMENT ORIENTED) DEVOTES BACK COVER
TO ARTICLE ENTITLED "SPAIN AND NATO-- A NATIONAL
DEBATE FOR THE CHAMBER--AFTER THE ELECTIONS THE
OBSTACLES TO THE ENTRY OF OUR COUNTRY INTO THE
ORGANIZATION WILL DISAPPEAR--THE OFFICIAL POLICY
IS TO 'WORK, WAIT, AND SEE,' GATHER INFORMATION AND
STUDY ALL THE HYPOTHESES FOR THE MOMENT WHEN THE TOPIC
IS PUT FORTH PUBLICLY--THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY
ESTABLISHES THAT THE MECHANISM BE ON OF INVITATION, BY
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UNANIMOUS AGREEMENT OF ITS MEMBERS." PARTIAL TEXT:

2. "DURING THE LIFETIME OF FRANCO, INCORPORATION INTO
NATO WAS AN EMINENTLY POLITICAL OBJECTIVE. THE SAME
WAS TRUE WITH THE EEC. BOTH ORGANIZATIONS WERE LOOKED
UPON NOT AS A DEFENSIVE PACT OR AN ECONOMIC CLUB. BUT
AS PATENT OFFICES FOR DEMOCRATIC, INTEGRATION. AND

THE OBJECTIVE, AT OFFICIAL LEVELS, WAS AS CLEAR AS IT WAS UTOPIAN: ENTER. THE DOORS OF THE ATLANTIC PACT AND THE COMMON MARKET WERE LITTLE LESS THAN THE DOORS INTO EUROPE... BUT EVERYONE KNEW THAT THEY WOULD REMAIN CLOSED, AS MINIMUM UNTIL A LONG SERIES OF CHANGES TOOK PLACE IN SPAIN: CHANGES WHICH IN GOOD MEASURE HAVE BEEN PRODUCED, WHILE OTHER ARE WITHIN REACH. AFTER JUNE 15, IF THE PROCESS DEVELOPS NORMALLY, EUROPE WILL CEASE TO LOOK AT US FROM THE SUPERIORITY OF HER DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND, THEORETICALLY, WILL OPEN HER DOORS TO US. AT LEAST, SHE WILL NOT PUT POLITICAL OBSTACLES, WHICH IS SOMETHING.

3. "SIMULTANEOUSLY, THE ASPIRATION OF SPANISH GOVERNMENT TO ENTER INTO THE EUROPEAN ORGANIZATIONS TAKES ON NEW ASPECT, AND FOR THE FIRST TIME, THE PROS AND CONS HAVE BEGUN TO BE DISPASSIONATELY STUDIED. IN CONSEQUENCE A PUBLIC DEBATE IS DEVELOPING IN WHICH THE RECENTLY LEGALIZED POLITICAL FORCES ARE--STILL TIMIDLY-- PARTICIPATING.

4. "AND THE NEARNESS OF THE ELECTIONS MAKES THE CURRENT CABINET AVOID MAKING PUBLIC ANY POLICY, WHICH WOULD HAVE TO BE SUBJECTED TO AN EXHAUSTIVE NATIONAL DEBATE IN THE NEW ASSEMBLY. THIS POSITION HAS COME TO BE CLASSIFIED--ESPECIALLY IN THE CASE OF NATO-- AS A LACK OF POLICY, WHICH IS NOT THE CASE. IN THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, THERE IS A FEVERISH EFFORT TO STUDY AND ANALYZE ALL OF THE HYPOTHESES; IN SHORT IT IS AS IF A GENUINE 'WHITE BOOK' WERE BEING PREPARED

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TO PRESENT AFTER THE ELECTIONS. RATHER THAN LACK OF POLICY, A POLICY OF 'WORK, WAIT AND SEE' COULD BE SPOKEN OF...

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5. "...CONCERNING NATO, THINGS ARE NOT AS CLEAR (AS WITH ENTRY INTO EEC), BECAUSE ENTRY INTO THE ATLANTIC ORGANIZATION IMPLIES, AS MUCH AS ENTERING INTO A MILITARY BLOC...THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ONE'S OWN SOCIAL MODEL. IT IS NOT IN VAIN THAT NATO IS A POLITICAL--MILITARY ENTITY, COMPLEX IN MANY OF ITS OPERATIVE ASPECTS AND ENTWINED WITH THE MAJORITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS OF TODAY... THE NATO OPTION IS ...MORE ENCOMPASSING THAN IT IS STRICTLY MILITARY. BUT ...WHAT ARE THE OTHER ALTERNATIVES? TO AVOID EXCLUDING ANYTHIN 'A PRIORI', THE FIRST OF THESE WOULD BE...INCLUSION INTO THE WARSAW PACT..
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THE SECOND IS NEUTRALISM, ARMED OR DISARMED (THIS LATTER POSSIBILITY IS ALMOST UNTHINABLE), SOMETHING WHICH WOULD AVOID ONLY WITH DIFFICULTY A CERTAIN UNLINKING... FROM EUROPE. AND MORE, THE SHOTS OF THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT DO NOT APPEAR TO BE AIMED IN THAT DIRECTION, NOT DO THOSE OF THE PROBABLE WINNERS OF THE ELECTIONS...THE THIRD ALTERNATIVE IS TO CONTINUE AS WE ARE, THAT IS, TO MAINTAIN A TREATY WITH THE UNITED STATES THAT IN FACT ENTAILS A CERTAIN RELATIONSHIP WITH THE DEFENSE SYSTEM OF NATO...

6. "LOOKING AT THE ELECTORAL PANORAMA...IT SEEMS MORE THAN IMPROBABLE THAT IN THE ASSEMBLY THERE WOULD BE A MAJORITY OF DEPUTIES FAVORING..A NEUTRALIST LINE IN SPAIN, JUST AS IT IS IMPOSSIBLE THAT THEY SHOULD

EVEN CONSIDER THE WARSAW PACT HYPOTHESIS. PUTTING THINGS LIKE THAT, THE CHOICE BETWEEN THE CURRENT SITUATION AND ENTRY INTO NATO TURNS OUT TO BE VERY EASY: NATO WINS... HOWEVER, IT IS NOT JUSTIFIABLE TO CONSIDER THE QUESTION SOLVED...AND VERY PROBABLY THE DEBATE WILL NOT RESOLVE ITSELF DRASTICALLY BY THE SIMPLE APPLICATION OF PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITIES, GIVEN THAT IT IS NOT A MATTER OF SAYING 'YES OR 'NO'... BUT OF CLARIFYING THE CONDITIONS...

7. "THE PRELIMINARY NEGOTIATIONS...WOULD STUDY ALSO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CERTAIN CONDITIONS. AFTER ALL, VARIOUS MEMBERS OF THE ORGANIZATION HAVE THEIR 'PECULIARITIES': ICELAND HAS NO ARMY: FRANCE AND GREECE TAKE NO PART IN THE MILITARY COMMITTEE. SPAIN COULD NEGOTIATE CERTAIN QUESTIONS BEFORE SIGNING THE TREATY, ALTHOUGH IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER THIS IS THE HABITUAL BUREAUCRATIC MECHANISM...

8. "ANOTHER IMPORTANT QUESTION IS WHETHER THE ENTRY NEGOTIATIONS CAN BE OPENLY SEPARATED FROM INTEGRATION
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INTO THE EEC. PERHAPS OVERSIMPLIFYING THE QUESTION COULD BE EXPRESSED THAT, IN REFERENCE TO NATO, WE ARE IN THE SITUATION OF STUDYING AN 'OFFER', WHILE IN THE CASE OF THE EEC, THERE EXIST CERTAIN CONDITIONS AND DIFFICULTIES FROM OUTSIDE, THAT IS, A 'DEMAND'. IT IS HARDLY TO BE DOUBTED THAT THE FIFTEEN COUNTRY OF NATO WILL RECEIVE SPAIN WITH OPEN ARMS IMMEDIATELY UPON COMPLETION OF THE MINIMUM DEMOCRATIC FORMALITIES.. BUT THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE EEC... CAN GO ON FOR A LONG TIME, FOUR, FIVE YEARS; AND MIGHT EVEN BE UNSUCCESSFUL.. IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, OUR COUNTRY COULD TRY TO PLAY UPON THE COMBINATION OF BOTH PROCESSES, IN AN EFFORT TO REDUCE THE RESISTENCE OF THE COMMUNITY IN EXCHANGE FOR OUR MORE OPEN ATTITUDE TOWARD. OF COURSE, ALL OF THIS IS NOTHING MORE THAN SPECULATION...

8. "IN ANY CASE, ONE SHOULD NOT BE EXCESSIVELY OPTIMISTIC, NOR GIVE MORE IMPORTANCE THAN IS REALISTIC TO THE EVENTUAL INCORPORATION OF SPAIN INTO NATO..." ITEM.RYLANCE

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